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MEMORY AND NON-PLACE: VISUAL TESTIMONIES OF JAPANESE LATIN AMERICAN INTERNMENT DURING WWII

This article addresses the little-known history of Japanese Latin American internment during WWII. Classified as ‘illegal aliens’ and ‘enemy aliens’, 2,264 Japanese Latin Americans were stripped of citizenship from their home countries, denied rights in the United States, and ultimately deprived reconciliation due to their undocumented status. Using the traces of this history as a case study, I explore the strategic memories Japanese Latin Americans create about non-place – spaces of statelessness or states of exception – that allow them to make claims about state violence committed against them under these conditions, and, second, argue that demands for justice against political violence entail not only bringing light to erased histories but also developing engaged acts of reception that account for survivors’ claims to the memories of non-place. Visual testimonies, such as the Denshō Digital Archive and the short documentary Hidden Internment: The Art Shibayama Story (2004), affectively connect a viewer/listener to the memory of trauma, to an inexpressible haunting, and thus are critical platforms for creating a collective memory between survivors and the digital generation of postmemory.

Keywords: Peru; Digital Archive; Documentary; Postmemory; Haunting; Ruins

President Ronald Reagan signed the Civil Liberties Act in 1988, and offered a formal apology for the forced removal and incarceration of approximately 120,000 Japanese and Japanese Americans during WWII. If the US history of Japanese internment during WWII is an ‘absent presence’ in official history and memorial commemorations (Sturken 1997, 692), then the US role in Japanese Latin American internment adds a layer to this already invisibilized history. It is little known that the United States had also taken Japanese Latin Americans as hostages from their home countries and placed them into internment camps in the United States. Some of those deported from their home countries were traded for US citizens held captive by the Japanese military. Classified as ‘illegal aliens’ and ‘enemy aliens’, 2,264 people of Japanese ancestry were taken from 12 different Latin American countries; approximately 1,800 were from Peru (US Department of Justice and Army Facilities 2017). They were stripped of citizenship from their home countries and denied rights in the United States, but also denied

reconciliation under the Civil Liberties Act of 1988, because of their undocumented status in the United States during the time of their internment. Given the thick invisibility of this history, as a first step in making demands for redress former Japanese Latin American internees have worked to produce evidence to support their claim to the *rights to memory*. Visual testimony has been just such a memory site for creating evidence about the collective experience of state violence (Gómez-Barris 2010, 411). Visual testimonies affectively connect a viewer/listener to the memory of trauma, to an inexpressible haunting, and thus are critical platforms for generating collective memory. I show how the short documentary *Hidden Internment: The Art Shibayama Story* (Peek 2004) and the Denshō digital archives are important mediums for constituting a collective memory about Japanese Latin American internment and recognition of a juridical subject.

If, as Paul Ricoeur (2004) argues, places, monuments, objects, and documents are the means through which to recall the past and activate memory, then what occurs to memory in *non-places*, in which multiple experiences of forced deportation, including seized documents, dispossession, and displacement, dissociate the body's sense of belonging to place and time? I purposely use *non-place* in two overlapping ways that are indebted to Giorgio Agamben's writings on states of exception and testimony (1999; 2005). My layered use of *non-place* addresses the coinciding structures of political illegibility that confront Japanese Latin American former internees when giving testimonies about what occurred to them within states of exception, when the law employs an exception from the law itself (Agamben 2005, 1). States of exception describe the suspension of law that may occur within state boundaries, but which often exceed the ethical boundaries of the state. These exceptions occur regardless of a person's citizenship status and include the state-sponsored practices of racialization and race-based violence that produce subaltern racial others as an act of self-preservation (Silva 2014, 159–160). I am interested in what occurs to memory in these states of exception, in these non-places.

My second, but overlapping, use of *non-place* refers to Agamben's writings about testimony. Agamben emphasizes the inadequate role of language in mediating the experience of bearing witness and giving testimony, since the ineffable experience of trauma exceeds representation. He repeatedly uses metaphors of place, signposting, and mapmaking to describe the location of testimony as 'taking place' in a non-place, a lacuna. Paradoxically, Agamben also observes that non-place is the witness's 'only dwelling place, its only possible consistency' (1999, 130). Thus, in Agamben's words, 'testimony takes place in the non-place of articulation' (1999, 130). Dylan Trigg builds on Agamben's notion of non-place in his discussion of the spatiality of trauma, which describes the way that traumatic memory occupies a space. While the ruins of an internment camp may index the scene of violence that once occurred at that site, ruins also shed light on a dimension of traumatic memory that operates according to a logic of haunting – the 'interior trace of voided experience' (2009, 94). Accordingly, ruins function similarly to testimony in how they both bear witness to a haunting. Taking Agamben's and Trigg's work

as a point of departure, I would like consider how visual testimonies can occupy the place of non-place and transform haunting into a site for collective memory-building. If testimony is the witness's only dwelling place, and if void, haunting, and invalidation are systematic of traumatic memory, then what are engaged acts of reception that recognize the role of testimony and ruins in constructing collective memory? To address these inquiries, I consider how visual testimonies in the short documentary *Hidden Internment: The Art Shibayama Story* (Peek 2004) and the Denshō Digital Archive transform ruins and testimony to constitute a collective memory between survivor and the generation of postmemory, the second generation or the 'generation after' charged with confronting someone else's memory of trauma (Hirsch 2012, 5).

While studies about postmemory often focus on the intergenerational transfer of trauma that occurs through kinship structures, Marianne Hirsch, building on the work of media theorists Andrew Hoskins and José van Dijck, argues that postmemory is transmitted not only through familial structures and social institutions, but also through technologies like digital archives, which significantly shape the transmission of memory in ways that are 'multidirectional' and 'connective' (2012, 2). Postmemory describes the mediums through which we remember the traumatic memory of others. Visual testimonies about Japanese Latin American internment are thus critical platforms for generating postmemory. Testimonies affectively connect survivors' memories to a viewer/listener who, in turn, decodes meanings according to her own 'imaginative investments' (Hirsch 2012, 5).

Japanese Peruvian internment during WWII

Hidden Internment and the Denshō Digital Archive about Japanese Latin American internment expose the reaches of US militarism that fly under the wings of US democracy, what Naoki Sakai and Hyon J. Yoo describe as the guarantee of US extraterritoriality in the name of European and Japanese decolonization (2012, 2–3). On 19 February 1942 President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066, which set in place a mass relocation program that uprooted 120,000 people of Japanese descent, two-thirds of whom were United States citizens. The Order created an anti-Japanese exclusion zone along the Pacific coast of the United States and forced all persons of Japanese descent to be removed from 'Washington, Oregon, the western half of California and the southern third of Arizona' (Inouye 1988, 641). A largely disregarded footnote to this history is that the United States extended its anti-Japanese policies to Latin America. During WWII, US officials encouraged hemispheric American countries to monitor 'potential subversives' and detain 'enemy aliens': namely, people with Axis citizenship or ethnicity (Emmerson 1978). Thomas Connell argues that the egregious operation occurred as the result of conjoining the Alien Enemy Act of 1789 with counsel from the Emergency Advisory Committee for Political Defence (EACPD) to 'abduct Latin American citizens of Japanese descent, strip them of their national identity, and transport them to the United States, place them in INS camps in

Texas, New Mexico, North Dakota, and Missouri, and then deport them to Japan in exchange for US citizens held by Japanese occupying forces' (2002, xxi).

With the cooperation of Peru, Chile, Mexico, Costa Rica, and Panama, among other countries located on the Pacific rim, thirteen Latin American countries willingly aided the United States in monitoring and confining Japanese Latin Americans. As the war progressed, the United States found new objectives for Japanese Latin Americans: they were used for civilian exchange negotiations, traded for US civilian prisoners held hostage by the Japanese military (Miyaki 2002, 170). The US Department of Justice and Army Facilities vaguely mentions this history by stating that the 'US *intended* to use them in *potential* hostage exchanges with Japan' (emphasis mine; US Department of Justice and Army Facilities 2017). This statement neglects to explain that the so-called intentions and potential plans indeed materialized.

While some Latin American countries opted to contain and monitor the movement of their Japanese population, a few countries, including Peru, chose to deport them. As a reward for their cooperation, Peru received a \$25 million loan from the United States government, as well as a reciprocal trade agreement (Peek 2004). Following the attack on Pearl Harbor, 2,264 Japanese Latin Americans, eighty-five percent of whom were from Peru, tell similar stories of being forced to board ships that took them on a three-week sea voyage to the United States – a haphazard deportation process at best. No evidence of espionage or threatening activity was found to justify deportation (US Committee of the Judiciary 2009, 6). Upon arriving in New Orleans, Louisiana, US military personnel put deportees through an inspection procedure that included publicly stripping them of their clothing, spraying them with the pesticide DDT, and then sending them to internment camps, where they were forced to join other Japanese and Japanese Americans who had also been incarcerated due to race-based wartime hysteria. It did not matter that many of the internees did not have any ties to the Japanese government; in the internment camps, they were homogeneously lumped together as potential enemies of US liberal democracy.

Ruins are an important symbolic site for Japanese Latin American internees to construct collective identity and memory about these events. *Hidden Internment: The Art Shibayama Story* begins with a shot of the city limit sign for Crystal City, Texas, which indicates a city so small and stagnant that it lists its precise population number on the sign: 8,263. The next shot takes us to the scene of violence and erasure of non-place: the ruins of the Crystal City internment camp. Art Shibayama, a former internee, walks through the camp, now an empty lot. The concrete foundations of former buildings remain atop a grassy field. The physical evidence of the violence that once occurred there has been removed, leaving only what Diana Taylor calls '*emptied* recalls', referring to the emotional remains of the violent practices that once occurred at a location, but are no longer visible (2009, 14). The camera frames his movement through the non-place with the caption 'Crystal City, TX – former site of Department of Justice internment camp'. This shot transforms the viewer into a witness to Shibayama's memory of what was once there. Shibayama speaks: 'No fences, no guard tower, no cottages, nothing, nothing looks familiar, no front gate, they didn't leave anything.' The scene

switches to historical documentary footage of the camp, showing the buildings that were once there. A woman with a long dress pushes a stroller against the backdrop of A-frame barracks. Sturken remarks that such ‘profoundly ordinary’ scenes created the image of hyperdomesticity that served to both ‘feminize the camps and emasculate Japanese men within them’ (Sturken 1997, 695). While much government effort was made to produce ‘profoundly ordinary’ images of camps, internees’ retellings reveal that the experiences were extraordinarily perverse. Upon arriving in Texas, Taichi Onishi, a thirty-seven-year-old merchant from Lima, attempted suicide at least four times in the first two weeks (Gardiner 1981, 31).

In the next scene, documentary footage shows the government round-up of men of Japanese descent. Ordinary people are taken from their homes, well-dressed men carry suitcases at a train station, and immaculately dressed children stand in line at a port. Japanese men, wearing business suits and top hats, are forced to march single file onto a bus, while armed men hold rifles in front of them. By showing the physical modes of transportation that took people from their homes, these scenes also visualize the non-places where state-sponsored actions racialized and homogenized all Japanese Latin Americans into a one-dimensional political threat to US democracy and its allies. The film’s recurring scenes of trains, buses, and ships give aesthetic form to the connected sites that produced multiple experiences of displacement.

Among these scenes, the film focuses on a photograph of Shibayama as an adolescent. Shibayama was thirteen years old when he and his family, including his grandparents, parents, and five siblings, were forced to abandon their thriving textile business in Lima and board the ship to the United States, where they would spend the next 2.5 years in an internment camp. The camera focuses on his smiling face, while a voiceover explains that he was only thirteen years old when he was forcibly removed from his home. The camera pans over another photo of Shibayama with his siblings, endearingly standing in size order. The photographs of childhood place the viewer in the intimate position of witnessing Shibayama’s memories of his family and nostalgia for his grandparents. Shortly after arriving in Crystal City internment facility, Shibayama’s grandparents were sent to Japan, where they were traded for US citizens in one of two prisoner-of-war exchanges with the Japanese government (US Committee of the Judiciary 2009, 3). He recalls how much his grandparents loved swimming at the beach before opening their shop each morning. While he speaks, textured black and white vintage footage of the beach plays across the screen. The photographs of Shibayama’s life in Lima and his memories of childhood visualize an inexpressible sense of haunting: the stolen experience of childhood, family, and futures, which in Shibayama’s account takes an affective form as a longing for a pre-internment era, before his family was separated and childhood permanently interrupted. Shibayama’s testimony creates an affective bond between the viewer and his traumatic memory, and thus generates postmemory. The postmemorial witness listens and sees, and eventually interprets the lacunas through her own memories. His testimony transmits his traumatic memory to a collective memory.

The camera cuts back to Shibayama, who is amidst another pile of ruins. In a semi-arid landscape, he stands in front of a pile of collapsed and decaying plank

wood. The documentary transforms these ruins into a teachable past. The scene of ruination becomes a point of departure as the narrative situates Shibayama's story as a piece of a larger history of racism against the Japanese in Peru. The film traces anti-Japanese sentiment to the beginning of Japanese immigration to Peru in the late nineteenth century. In 1899, the vessel *Sakura-maru* brought the first group of Japanese migrant contract labourers to Peru to perform the plantation work formerly done by African slaves. Due to the harsh conditions, many of the Japanese plantation workers left the fields and migrated to Lima in search of other kinds of commercial work. Eventually, they formed a strong merchant class.

The film conveys layers of complexity that exist in Peruvian history regarding anti-Japanese sentiment. Japanese migrants ascended the socioeconomic ladder from plantation contract labourers to a successful merchant class in Peru's major cities, or, as the film's voiceover states, they went from 'pioneers to settlers' (Peek 2004). While a model minority narrative underlies this statement, rising anti-Japanese sentiment and suspicion arose among many in Peru. Japanese economic success and business ownership, paired with suspicious views of the Japanese as self-isolating, fuelled xenophobic strands of Peruvian nationalism, and eventually led to violent and exclusionary acts against people of Japanese descent. Japanese military expansion into China, marked by the 1937 Nanjing Massacre, caused a ripple effect of anti-Japanese fear and exclusionary policies around the Allied world. These events, also known as the Second Sino-Japanese War, and the beginning of the Pacific side of WWII, became fuel for wartime hysteria that took shape in the Yellow Peril discourse: anti-Japanese representations that conveyed people with Japanese nationality and descent as the embodiment of military threat against the Allied powers. People of Italian and German descent were treated with similarly discriminatory and punitive actions. In the same year, the Peruvian government passed the 1937 law that 'annulled alien birth registrations and banned the Japanese from claiming *jus soli* [birth right] nationality, citizenship based on nation of birth' (Miyake 2002, 167). Anti-Japanese sentiment materialized into violent actions. In one tragic incident in May 1940, a false report of weapon stockpiles in Japanese-owned haciendas in agricultural centres in Chancay and Hualar triggered a series of organized riots and violent attacks against Japanese-owned businesses. The violence resulted in the death of ten Japanese Peruvians (Miyake 2002, 166). In Lima, lootings and the destruction of nearly all Japanese-owned businesses ensued. Police did not stop the riots in Lima, and major newspapers failed to report on the crimes committed against Japanese-owned businesses (Masterson and Classen 2003, 156–157). The Peruvian government viewed Pearl Harbor as a chance to remove the Japanese population from the country, and also seize their prosperous businesses and property (Connell 2002, 41). Working in collusion with the United States, the Peruvian government began by rounding up men, most of whom were business owners, intellectuals, and community leaders, and seizing individual property, including homes and businesses. Men, women, and children were then deported to the United States. Their passports and identity documents were confiscated en route, and they were made into stateless persons upon arrival in the United States.

At the end of WWII, Shibayama and other Japanese Latin Americans held captive in the United States were told they were illegal and would be deported.

However, their home governments refused to take them back, and so approximately 900 people were sent to war-devastated Hiroshima. Those who remained in the United States were considered ‘illegal aliens’, and thus found themselves in new conditions of precariousness and exploitation.

Visual testimonies about non-place

In addition to the short documentary *Hidden Internment*, visual testimonies of Japanese Latin American internees are also strategic memory sites. Recurring references to movement and modes of transportation serve as a critical site for anchoring memories of displacement, and in producing evidence about state violence and wrongdoing. In 1991, a group of former Japanese Peruvian internees and their families formed the Japanese Peruvian Oral History Project (JPOHP). Currently, a number of organizations with an online presence share the mission of making known this silenced history. Among them are personal blogs with photographs of family gatherings (the-moritas.com); the Campaign for Justice (campaignforjusticejla.org), founded in 1996 in collaboration with the American Civil Liberties Union of Southern California; Nikkei, Civil Rights & Redress; the Japanese Peruvian Oral History Project; and Denshō (densho.org). They all share the mission of creating awareness about the officially silenced history of Japanese Latin American internment, and they also serve a critical juridical function by providing legal advice and referrals for Japanese Latin Americans seeking redress.

Denshō is an online community museum that stores historical materials related to Japanese internment history. Meaning ‘to pass on to the next generation’ in Japanese, Denshō is a not-for-profit organization that supports this open access archive. Established in 1996, Denshō’s mission is dedicated to ‘preserving, educating, and sharing the history of World War II-era incarceration of Japanese Americans’ (Densho.org). The board, largely composed of descendants of former internees, is particularly interested in collecting ‘photographs, documents, letters, diaries, scrapbooks, artwork, copies of community publications/newspapers, home movies, and audio recordings’ (Densho.org). Denshō’s staff scan donated materials, and then return them to the donor along with a digitized copy. Local non-profit and volunteer groups conduct and archive interviews, which are then donated to Denshō, which retains copyright for preservation and educational usage. Visual testimonies housed in the Denshō digital archives serve as both a repository of resistance against political erasure and a repertoire of living history.

Among the website’s resources about the history of Japanese and Japanese American internment during WWII is an open-access encyclopaedia with nearly 1,000 entries that allows researchers, independent scholars, and family members to search by category or browse by alphabetical order. The categories serve as a Table of Contents, and they also show the transnational dimension of Japanese internment during WWII. Topics include ‘Arts’, which contains references to artists and multimedia expressions of creative works that relate the experience of internment, and ‘Camps’, which provides a list of the detention facilities, including their opening and closing dates and descriptions of the populations held on site. Among the listed detention centres is Ellis

Island, that powerful symbolic gateway to the promise of liberty, here an internment prison and rewritten as a non-place – a site of exception from the ethical limits of state responsibility. Among other categories are ‘Post-war’, ‘Pre-war’, ‘Resettlement’, and ‘Redress’. The website provides an abundance of educational resources, including free multidisciplinary lessons for teachers to use in the classroom. Among the resources I have used for both research and teaching are the Denshō Digital Archive, which houses a collection of more than 900 visual history testimonies (more than 1,700 hours of footage), and the Digital Repository, which contains images, photographs, documents, and other primary sources related to the history of Japanese internment. To facilitate searches, the visual history testimonies are indexed according to events and broken into segments that average about ten minutes each. Transcriptions of the full-length interviews are available for download on the Denshō website.

Due to the community-based nature of the interview process, the setting of the interview rooms varies. At times, personal objects in the background give away clues that we may be looking into the interviewee’s home. A purple-and-black gradient drop-cloth that reappears across a number of interviews creates a unified backdrop that visually connects interviewees’ testimonies. In all the interviews, the camera frames the interviewee in a medium close-up or medium shot, so that we can see them from either the chest or waist up. These kinds of shots allow the witness to see details of the interviewee’s facial expressions and feelings, establishing the interviewee’s relationship to the interviewer in the non-diegetic space. The camera screen also establishes a connection to the postmemory viewer who is not in the room, but whose presence is anticipated. The interviewer is not visible, but we can hear his or her questions. These interviewers use a life history methodology mode of testimony-taking. Rather than focusing solely on experiences of internment, life histories aim at gathering a holistic picture of one’s life. Survivors tell their life history for the camera and interviewer, and in the process provide a rich context that situates the experience of collective violence within the scope of their lives. This methodology helps us to understand how internment not only significantly shaped individual’s lives during and after internment, but also reshaped their memories of life before internment. Questions focus on three time frames: quotidian life before the war; WWII and the experience of internment; and life after the war. Within this framework, the questions aim to help interviewees recall decades that have passed, and they provide an entry point to begin comprehending the complexity of how the experience of war and deportation impacts the faculties of memory and one’s dissociated sense of belonging to place and time.

Most of the interviewees were children or adolescents during WWII. Because they were relocated to multiple non-places, often without knowledge about where and why things were happening, a common characteristic across all the testimonies is their ‘messiness’. This messiness directly speaks to the confusing experience of living in continuous states of non-place, including multiple and overlapping memories of deportation and relocation. ‘Mixed-up’ and ‘messy’ are recurring descriptions in Maria Sato’s interview, conducted on 11 July 2012, by Kristen Luetkemeier, a park ranger at the Manzanar National Historic Site, a former internment camp that detained 10,000 people. The interview took place at the Portland Doubletree Hotel, in Portland, Oregon. Maria Sato is sitting on an

armchair. The signs of age are etched into her hair and face. In the pre-internment set of questions, Luetkemeier asks Sato about her father:

Kristen Luetkemeier: And where was he from?

Maria Sato: Hiroshima.

Kristen Luetkemeier: What did his family do in Hiroshima?

Maria Sato: Like a carpenter, construction deal, and we have a few people over there working for my father.

Kristen Luetkemeier: Oh, in Hiroshima?

Maria Sato: Yes.

Kristen Luetkemeier: They did carpentry for them?

Maria Sato: No, that's in ... excuse me, in Peru.¹

From the beginning of the testimony, in the pre-internment time frame, we can observe that her messy memory occurs in relation to places. She speaks about her father's work as a carpenter in Hiroshima, Japan, but Japan, or 'over there', is actually Peru. Places do not refer to actual geography, but they serve as an anchor for memory and affect, and thus take on a number of associative meanings. Her recollections about Japan are intertwined with her memories about her father, which largely took place in Peru during her childhood years before her father was forcibly taken away.

In another instance, during the set of questions that focus on the experience of WWII and internment, her memory mixes up Japan with the United States. The interviewer asks Sato to discuss her experience of arriving in the Crystal City internment camp, the same place where Shibayama and his family were sent, but she mixes up her answer. Instead of speaking about Texas, she responds by recalling her experience of deportation to Japan, which occurred to her after WWII:

Maria Sato: No, we lost a lot of things, papers and pictures, and we couldn't get the whole thing in one suitcase, you know, it was kind of hard, because you got the limit and all of that.

Kristen Luetkemeier: What was the limit?

Maria Sato: So I don't know what they did with the leftovers. Maybe they throw it away, I have no idea.

Kristen Luetkemeier: Did you see anything that you left again?

Maria Sato: No, I don't think so. We couldn't get too many things anyway. There was a lot of things we had to leave. Most of us have to leave, you have to. It was kind of sad, but what can you do? 'Cause they checked also, I'm pretty sure, the suitcase inside.

Kristen Luetkemeier: Did you each have one suitcase?

Maria Sato: I don't remember how we did it, I'm pretty sure we have some, but I remember on the way back after we moved from the camp, we're supposed to bring just one suitcase. And when we arrived in Japan, somebody ... when was it? January, and it was snowing, it was so cold, we'd never seen snow in South America. And so somebody, when we were waiting at the station, train station, somebody stole my second brother's, Antonio's, suitcase, the whole thing. The whole thing. See, they knew we were Japanese each other, but they

knew we were coming from different countries, and they took the whole thing, so he didn't have nothing to wear and everything.²

Sato's messy memory is not symptomatic of forgetfulness or old age. Rather, Japan and the United States associatively refer to non-places – to her multiple deportations to the United States during WWII and then to Japan, post-WWII.

As Sato continues to speak, she retrieves the memory of a single suitcase. In her recollection, the suitcase is the symbolic form of her multiple forced relocations that connects archipelagos of non-places. It becomes the symbolic site where she stores the affective constellation of her family leaving behind everything they could not fit into one suitcase. But, the suitcase is also a symbol of precariousness, irrecoverable loss, and fragility. After being detained in the United States, she and her family were again relocated to Japan during the bitterly cold winter season. At the train station, a thief steals her sickly brother Antonio's suitcase, leaving him nothing to wear. In Sato's testimony, we can observe how the suitcase acquires the symbolic code of the non-place. Her 'messy' memories about where things happened and in which language events occurred is a common characteristic of diasporic upbringings. Because she mixes up English and Spanish, her husband, who does not speak Spanish, teasingly calls her 'a mixed-up kid'.³ However, her mixed-up usage of Spanish and English is not simply an effect of a diasporic childhood and a matter of code switching, but also marks the unravelling of the national symbolic order that occurred to her through her experiences of statelessness and detachment to place.

In Japanese Peruvian Atsumi Ozawa's recollections about the deportation passage, trains, ships, and ports serve as central memory arteries. She explains that the police first incarcerated her father. As a successful owner of a specialty food store in Huancayo, Peru, whose children attended a Japanese school, he was put on a blacklist. Ozawa describes taking the train with her pregnant mother to meet her father at the port where they would be deported to the United States. On the train ride to the port of Callao, her mother suffered a miscarriage. However, because they had to arrive at the port within a short period of time, her mother did not have a chance to fully recover before boarding the twenty-two-day journey to New Orleans aboard a US warship. Ozawa describes the seasickness she experienced on the long ship journey: 'Constantly we were running to the rail and vomiting, we were so sick.'⁴ The men and women were kept on separate levels. The men could come up for air for only 15–30 minutes at a time. She remembers seeing her father, but because the guards were always 'guarding' them, they could not tell him what had happened to his lost child.

New Orleans, a historical site that holds the violent memory of slave trafficking, formerly the centre of the slave trade in the United States, became the repurposed port where kidnapped persons from Latin America were made to serve the United States military as tradeable objects and war collateral. Ozawa recalls the inspection process, which recurs in the same order across different testimonies of former Japanese Latin American internees, and thus serves as evidence of the highly calculated and standardized orders given to soldiers regarding the treatment of Japanese Latin American arrivals. They took away their passports, stripped them of their

clothes, sprayed them with the pesticide DDT, then sent them to internment camps.

Upon first arriving at the Crystal City, Texas, internment camp, Ozawa recalls the Japanese internees welcomed her group of new arrivals by singing *Aikoku koushin kyoku*, a Japanese patriotic march song. In this recollection, we can see how the internees strategically created a Japanese identity at the site of a non-place, the internment camp, by performing this patriotic song to greet newly arriving internees. However, Ozawa reveals that she could not fully recall the words or meaning of the song. Instead, she tells the interviewer Tom Ikeda that what she really remembers is the affective state the song produced:

Atsumi Ozawa: I think [the song is] about Japan, how good is Japan, I think. What a good country, it was something like that, I think, the words (I kind of remember).

Tom Ikeda: But it made you feel good when you heard that.

Atsumi Ozawa: Felt so good to see other Japanese in there and welcome us. I felt real good.⁵

That Ozawa cannot remember the song lyrics, and repeatedly states 'I think' to signal uncertainty, sheds light on how she lacks an engrained memory of the song. In the United States, the daily recitation of the Pledge of Allegiance permanently embedded these words into the memory of people who partook in those daily rituals. By contrast, for Ozawa the Japanese patriotic march song functioned as a performative act of social inclusion, wherein the performance of a Japanese national ritual became a socially constructed mode of solidarity in the face of anti-Japanese exclusion: 'When I got there, all these other Japanese people, they stayed there, they kind of welcome us with singing some Japanese songs, we felt really strong and happy because there was a lot of other Japanese in there.'⁶ She does not remember the song lyrics, but she remembers the affective bond it produced between her and the other internees.

Ozawa's father died during internment, and her memory about his death is patchy. Her sutured memories attest to a lack of knowledge about what truly caused his death:

Atsumi Ozawa: I think there was, in camp we had a hospital. But first he had, I think he had some kind of operation. I think it was, I don't know, but a hemorrhoid operation, and then after that I don't know, something else. And then I heard he had some brain tumor or something, brain tumor. Because when we were in Japanese class, somebody came to tell us, 'You better go see your dad', because he was kind of in a coma or something. So we went to see my dad. At that time, he couldn't even talk. So yeah, in the same year.

Tom Ikeda: So I'm thinking about your mother and how hard it must have been for her.

Atsumi Ozawa: Yeah. And then my father was sent to San Antonio, Texas, a different (city) ... I don't know, I had the name of the hospital, but he was sent to the other hospital because they didn't have any facilities in camp, I guess, to cure him, or I don't know what it was. So we heard that, I think they say, 'You better go see your dad'. So a police lady took my mom and myself, and she drove us to the hospital.

Tom Ikeda: In San Antonio?

Atsumi Ozawa: In San Antonio. And I went there, and I was at the door over here, and my dad was laying someplace around there. But I don't know why the police lady, they didn't want to ... they didn't get close to my dad. We didn't go close to my father, you know.

Tom Ikeda: They wouldn't let you get close?

Atsumi Ozawa: I don't know what it was, but we were at the door, and then I saw my dad there, but my dad looked so good. He really looked real good when I saw him. And then the lady said, 'Oh, it's lunchtime, so we better go have lunch'. So we went to eat lunch, and then the soldier, one soldier came and said, 'Your dad passed away'.

Tom Ikeda: Just in that short time?

Atsumi Ozawa: The short time.

Tom Ikeda: And he looked, right before, he looked really good?

Atsumi Ozawa: He looked so good. Really, he looked so good.

Tom Ikeda: Was his eyes open?

Atsumi Ozawa: Yeah. He was laying there, I saw him, and he looked real good. But at that time, now, I think, boy, I should have, if I knew English or something, I could have told the lady, 'Let me at least hold his hand or something', you know. But we don't know what was going on either at the time. We told her we're just going to go and come back or something. No, we were just standing there for a very short time, then she says, 'Let's go eat lunch', and then we went to eat lunch, and then they told us he died.

Ozawa repeats the phrase 'I don't know' throughout her recollection of her father's death. Like Sato's testimony, these moments are not attributable to forgetfulness, but rather are systematic of memories of non-place. They are sutured memories, stitched together from rumours, misinformation, irrational sequences of events, and the juxtaposition of horror with the quotidian. The cause of her father's death is unclear. She *heard* he had a brain tumour, or *something*. Ambiguity about his death in the internment camp provides implicit evidence that her father's death was induced from the experience of internment, perhaps even produced from torture. The ambiguity of not knowing, paired with the possibility that a monstrous explanation lurks in the crevices of this past, inscribes this memory with a haunting, an enduring sense of horror that comes from not knowing what truly happened. Ozawa's memory about routinized terror is powerfully conveyed in the phrase: 'We went to eat lunch, and then they told us he died.'

Elsa Kudo was among the Japanese Latin American internee children forcibly relocated to the United States and placed in an internment camp. In a visual testimony conducted in 2012, Kudo recalls the jarring experience of riding the warship from Peru to the Panama Canal, where they descended and took a bus and then a train to the Crystal City internment camp. Because she was a child during this journey, her recollection of deportation is patched together from her own sensations and other people's memories. Kudo's memory of the deportation passage is filled with the horrid scent of the American foods, such as hot dogs, they were made to eat. Her mother's memory about the difficulty of breastfeeding during deportation also becomes her own memory: 'And that's when she told me later that here she was trying to feed the baby, and only blood would come to her breast.'⁷ Her most vivid association with deportation is the image of jumping schools of swordfish, 'And that's the first time I saw the, I guess they're swordfish that jumps, schools of these things. And that's the thing I remember about this period of our lives'.⁸ Her memory of non-place affectively binds the ordinary experience of eating a hot dog or the delightful sight of jumping swordfish with the horrid corporeal sensations of nausea, vomit, and bloody breastmilk. Her



FIGURE 1 Art Shibayama's family home in Lima, Peru, on Calle Santa Catalina. (L to R): Fusako, Akiko, Mother carrying Takeshi, Kenichi, Father, Kikue, Isamu (Art). Year 1939. Courtesy of the A. Shibayama Family Collection. Densho Digital Repository. <http://ddr.densho.org/ddr-densho-91-4/>.

recollections about the routinized terror that marks the experience of internment is also a testament to the psychological reaches of United States militarism.

Kudo describes the shock she experienced when, as a junior in college, she was called to receive her United States citizenship papers. To her surprise, the judge had an FBI file on her stamped with the words 'illegal entry'.⁹ She angrily recalls her feelings during that encounter: 'What is this? Why is my file stamped 'illegal entry'? We didn't come illegally. You folks knew we were coming in; you brought us here.'¹⁰ After WWII, Kudo along with approximately 300 former internees fought to stay in the United States because their country of origin would not allow them back. They were allowed to stay in the United States as undocumented persons, and hence entered into another condition of non-place. Others were sent to war-devastated Japan. One survivor recalls getting off the train in Hiroshima and walking and walking, finally reaching the city. She recalls seeing everything destroyed. There was nothing left, no buildings. There were still wounded people on the streets. This was supposed to be her new home (Peek 2004).

To avoid deportation to Japan, Shibayama and his family hired a lawyer, Wayne Collins, who negotiated their 'parole' to Seabrook Farms, a vegetable-processing plant in New Jersey, where they lived and worked under conditions of exploitative low-wage labour. Due to his undocumented status and lack of access to labour rights, Shibayama spent his teenage years picking vegetables for 12 hours a day at the wage of \$3.00 per day. One former detainee laughs cynically at how the government taxed 30% of his meagre earnings because he was 'illegal' and thus risked

leaving the country without paying his income taxes (Peek 2004). Despite his illegal status, in 1952 Shibayama was drafted to serve a duty for the United States military and was stationed in Europe during the Korean War. He was finally granted permanent residency in 1956, but, as mentioned earlier, was deemed ineligible for redress under the Civil Liberties Act of 1988, since he was not a United States citizen at the time of his internment. Their demands for redress are ongoing.

Insofar as Japanese Latin American former internees have used visual testimony to define a collective memory of internment, these testimonies reveal the ongoing need to develop strategies for receiving memories, especially when addressing cases where people have been treated beyond the ethical limits of state recognition and undergone multiple experiences of displacement that disrupt bonds between memory and place. Interviewees' claims to mixed-up memories, forgetting, or uncertainty are not symptomatic of memory but *systematic* of the processes that produce political illegibility and invalidate memories of non-place. *Hidden Internment* and the Denshō Digital Archive present multidirectional ways that survivors make demands to the rights to memory, which are also claims to legal reconciliation and recognition as a juridical subject. Survivors' visual testimonies occupy non-places and transform ruins and lacuna into sites for collective memory-building with the digital generation of postmemory. The question of how to receive memories of non-place remains.

Notes

1. Maria Sato; interviewer Kristen Luetkemeier, 11 July 2012, Portland, Oregon. Manzanar National Historic Site Collection. Densho Digital Archive. <http://ddr.densho.org/media/ddr-manz-1/ddr-manz-1-165-1-transcript-55d101dae6.htm> (accessed 5 April 2017).
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Atsumi Ozawa; interviewer Tom Ikeda, 17 June 2011, Skokie, Illinois. Densho Visual History Collection. Densho Digital Archive. <http://encyclopedia.densho.org/media/encyc-psms/en-denshovh-oatsumi-01-0009-1.htm> (accessed 5 April 2017).
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
7. Elsa Kudo; interviewer Kelli Nakamura, 6 February 2012, Honolulu, Hawaii. Densho Visual History Collection. Densho Digital Archive. <http://ddr.densho.org/media/ddr-densho-1000/ddr-densho-1000-388-transcript-0bde1623c4.htm> (accessed 5 April 2017).
8. Ibid.
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid.

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